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AUTHOR Weaver, David H.
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ABSTRACT

This study examined the content of newspapers from six geographic regions of the United States during three time periods preceding the Civil War (1820 to 1835, 1836 to 1846, and 1847 to 1860). The news articles were coded in nine general categories and rank-ordered for each region. Results indicate that quite similar news sources and news values were employed by reporters and editors in the different areas of the country, in spite of widening social, political, and economic gaps that led to the Civil War. General political, general community, and intellectual/cultural news received heavy emphasis during all three time periods, while news concerning slavery and abolition, sectional differences, and education received relatively little emphasis. Since the results of this study conflict with the contemporary theory of the press's agenda-setting function, further research exploring the processes of news selection and emphasis during the 1820-1860 period is proposed. (RL)

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U.S. NEWSPAPER CONTENT FROM 1820 TO 1860: A MIRROR OF THE TIMES?*

by

David H. Weaver

Bureau of Media Research
School of Journalism
Indiana University

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The beginning of the 19th century marked a new period in American journalism.[1] American newspapers emphasized politics even more than in the preceding period and many "lived by and for political groups."[2] By 1840, the four largest American cities had "penny papers" which appealed to the masses and which contained "much local news, great attention to human interest stories, and a fat budget for entertainment material."[3] Nevertheless, according to Mott, "up to the time of the Civil War it was not the independent penny press but the partisan political press that dominated American journalism."[4]

In addition to the changes in content, the number of papers tripled from 1833 to 1860 and spread not only over the settled portions of the country but also appeared even on the outposts of the frontier. By 1860, only four states were without newspapers--Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, and North Dakota.[5]

Many factors were involved in this growth of American newspapers, including a doubling of the population between 1833 and 1860, the development of public education, improvement in the lighting of homes, increased interest in public affairs, the decreasing price of papers, and the increase in the number of women reading newspapers.[6]

At the same time that America's newspapers were undergoing fundamental changes in content and numbers, the overall patterns of life in some sections of the country also were changing. The North (primarily the industrial Northeast, that is) developed a markedly different way of life after 1820 whereas the South, generally speaking, was about the same in 1861 as it had been in 1761.[7]

Although the War of 1812-14 slowed the westward movement of the U.S. population, in the following years there was "an unparalleled migration to the western states and territories."[8] Another impetus to the westward movement of population and the press was the purchase of the Louisiana territory in 1803. Emery argues that when this domain was added to the United States, "settlers poured in from the East."[9] By 1810, according to Emery, the western press was "lusty and influential."[10]

During the first two-thirds of the 19th century, the South provided many of the prominent political leaders in Washington and the North began to resent this southern political leadership. Emery points out that the Webster-Hayne debate of 1830 clearly illustrated the struggle between capitalistic and agrarian ideologies.[11] The South was apprehensive about its future primarily be-

cause the industrial North was growing much faster than the South and would soon assume political dominance. Along with this political dominance, the South feared, would come economic ruin for the South, since the North was willing to spend large amounts of tax money on the improvement of harbors and transportation systems which would do little, if anything, to benefit the southern economy.[12]

Both sections of the country turned to the West as an ally, when it became clear that the frontier region would determine the outcome of the conflict. Although the West was agrarian, like the South, it was not as dependent upon world markets but rather was more concerned about reaching local or regional markets. As a result, the West sided with the North in the development of more roads, canals, steamboat subsidies and railroads.[13]

Although the West was in favor of the opening of new lands, both North and South were opposed to this for differing reasons. Southerners feared the opening of new lands would lead to a majority of free states, and the North frowned on westward expansion because it depressed northern property values and reduced the supply of cheap labor in industrial areas. Nevertheless, the West won on this issue. Emery interprets this victory as "a kind of bribe paid by the North for the support

of the West" and cites the Homestead Act, passed on the eve of the Civil War after years of northern objection, as evidence to support this conclusion.[14]

Whatever the motives involved, it seems clear that the West, from the early 1800's until the outbreak of the Civil War, became politically and economically closer to the North than to the South. It is also fairly clear that the South became politically and economically more distant from the North during the first two-thirds of the 19th century.

Did newspaper content during this period reflect these political and economic trends?

Although Mott supplies us with an 11-page section on developments in format and content during 1833 to 1860, and sections on the political and mercantile papers and the penny press, it is not clear from his descriptions of individual newspapers and editors what broad trends in content existed among the newspapers in different sections of the country. Likewise, Emery's chapters on the rise of sectionalism, the race for news, the penny press, the press of the 1820's and 1830's, and the press from 1800 to 1820 offer little information on broad trends in newspaper content from 1820 to 1860.

Method

In order to gauge the degree of similarity in the content of American newspapers from various sections of the country during the 1820 to 1860 period, data collected by Professor Donald Shaw of the School of Journalism, University of North Carolina,were analyzed for each of six regions of the country (Lower South, Upper South, Border States, Middle States, New England and the West) during three separate time periods: (1) 1820 to 1835, (2) 1836 to 1846, and (3) 1847 to 1860.[15]

Although the content of the various newspapers analyzed by Shaw was coded into 90 specific subject categories, only nine general subject categories were used in this analysis, mainly because of lack of cases in many of the 90 specific categories. The news categories used in this study are: (1) general political, (2) slavery and abolition, (3) sectional differences, (4) territories and expansion, (5) general economic, (6) science and technology, (7) general community, (8) intellectual and cultural, and (9) education.[16]

These categories were ranked according to the number of total newspaper stories devoted to them from each of the six regions of the country during each of the three time periods. In addition, only those stories produced by local reporters and editors were used to produce second

rankings of the subject matter categories for each region of the country across the three time periods. Within each time period, each region's ranking was compared to every other region's with Spearman's rho rank-order correlation coefficient, first on the basis of all newspaper stories and then on the basis of only those newspaper stories written by local reporters or editors. In this manner, it was possible to compare the trends in newspaper content across space and across time. Did the newspapers of the same regions emphasize the same kinds of content over time? Or did different regions move closer together (or farther apart) in terms of newspaper content?

Findings

Tables 1-3 illustrate the relative emphasis placed on different categories of news by all news stories in the sample of newspapers from each region of the country during the three time periods of 1820 to 1835, 1836 to 1846 and 1847 to 1860. Tables 4-6 illustrate the relative emphasis on different categories of news by only those stories written by local editors or reporters. The Spearman's rhos at the bottom of each table indicate the similarity of news emphasis between different pairs of regions of the country.

One of the most striking findings in Tables 1-3 is the similarity of news emphasis between various regions of the country. The strongest Spearman's rho in Tables 1-3 is .987 (Table 1) and the weakest is .752 (Table 1), indicating that the total news agendas of these various regions were quite similar within each of the three time periods. An examination of the local reporter/editor news agendas in Tables 4-6 indicates more variance within each of the time periods (the strongest rho is .964 and the weakest .386), but still a high degree of similarity overall, with the majority of the rhos above .60.

Tables 1-3 also indicate that about the same categories of news were emphasized in all news stories over the three time periods. General political, general community, and intellectual and cultural news received heavy emphasis in all three time periods, whereas news concerning slavery and abolition, sectional differences and education received relatively little emphasis.

Looking only at news stories written by local reporters and editors (Tables 4-6), it is evident that general political and general community news received the most emphasis, and news concerning U.S. territories and expansion, education, sectional differences, and slavery and abolition received the least emphasis. The

patterns for news stories written by local editors and reporters are not as stable over time, however, as those found for all news stories.

Although the most emphasized news categories in the local reporter/editor stories are general political and general community across all three time periods, the least emphasized change from one time period to another. In 1820 to 1835, the least amount of coverage was in the areas of education and territories and expansion, but in the years between 1836 and 1846, the least covered categories were slavery and abolition, and sectional differences. In 1847 to 1860, the least emphasized news categories were territories and expansion, and science and technology.

Although these results indicate considerable constancy in news emphasis across the various regions of the country and across time, especially with regard to the total news story agenda, there are some changes occurring over time, particularly in the local reporter/editor news agendas.

Table 7 illustrates the rank-order correlations based on all news stories between the Lower South, Upper South, New England and West over time. These correlations suggest that the Southern newspapers emphasized about the same topics as the New England papers over the three

time periods, with the most similarity occurring in the 1836 to 1846 period, in spite of the increasing political and economic dissimilarity between the two regions. When the South and the West are compared, it is evident that newspaper emphasis on the nine general topics became more similar over time, in contrast to the growing political rift between the South and the West.

When the West and New England are compared, however, the rank-order correlations suggest that newspaper emphasis in these two regions became more similar over time than between the South and the industrial Northeast or between the South and the West, perhaps reflecting the increasing political and economic similarity of the West and the North. The .979 rho between the West and New England during the 1847 to 1860 period is the strongest correlation in Table 7.

The correlations based on only the local reporter/editor-generated news stories in Table 8 suggest about the same patterns as those in Table 7, except that the Western and the Southern newspaper emphasis becomes slightly more dissimilar after the second time period, whereas it became somewhat more similar when all news stories were included in the analysis. Again, the emphasis of the Western and Northern newspapers becomes increasingly more similar, with the strongest correlation (.940) occurring between the agendas of the Western and Northern newspapers in the 1847 to 1860 time period.

Conclusions

These results lend some support to the hypothesis that newspaper content in the American South, West, and North reflected the growing similarity of the West and the North during the first two-thirds of the 19th century. However, these data suggest very little support for newspaper reflection of the widening political and economic gap between the South and the West, and between the South and the North during 1820 to 1860.

What is more striking than these findings is the overall similarity of news emphasis between the newspapers of various regions of the country, even before the invention of the telegraph and the use of syndicated news services. Some of this similarity undoubtedly is due to the general news categories used in this analysis, but the strength of the rank-order correlations suggests that quite similar news sources and news values were employed by reporters and editors in the different areas of the country, in spite of the widening social, political and economic gaps which led to the Civil War.

In general, the newspapers of the various regions seemed to emphasize, in Lasswell's terms, the functions of correlation and transmission of social heritage, rather than surveillance of the environment.[17] They concentrated on general political, general community

and intellectual and cultural news, while downplaying news of slavery and abolition, sectional differences, and territories and expansion. Even in the period just preceding the Civil War, general political, general community, and intellectual and cultural news received the most emphasis in all news stories and also in those stories produced by local editors and reporters. Likewise, news of slavery and abolition, sectional differences, and territories and expansion received little emphasis, except in the Lower South states, where local editors and reporters stressed sectional differences over five other news topics.

This downplaying of high conflict news could have been due to several forces. Editors could have been trying to head off the impending clash between the North and South or they could have been restrained by pressures from their readers to minimize the unpleasantries of sectional differences and the slavery issue. Still other pressures may have come from the politically powerful to soft-pedal these potentially explosive topics.

Whatever the dynamics of the news selection process, it seems apparent that the broad trends in newspaper content were very similar from one region to another from 1820 to 1860, and changed only somewhat in response to political and economic relationships among these regions. Considering the rather constant de-emphasis of high con-

flict issues such as slavery and abolition and sectional differences, perhaps newspapers in the 40 years preceding the Civil War did more (consciously or unconsciously) to promote cooperation rather than conflict. Recent studies on the agenda-setting function of the press would suggest that de-emphasis of slavery, sectional differences and territorial expansion should have resulted in relatively low concern regarding these issues among newspaper readers of the time.[18]

These results suggest that further research is needed to explore the processes of news selection and emphasis during the 1820 to 1860 period. This research should probably employ more specific content categories and include consideration of the social, political and economic forces impinging on reporters and editors in different regions of the country.

NOTES

[1]Frank Luther Mott, American Journalism (New York: Macmillan, 1969), p. 168.

[2]Mott, ibid.

[3]Edwin Emery, The Press and America (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1972) p. 174.

[4]Mott, op. cit., p. 253.

[5]Mott, op. cit., p. 303.

[6]Mott, op. cit., pp. 303-304.

[7]Emery, op. cit., p. 208.

[8]Mott, op. cit., p. 190.

[9]Emery, op. cit., p. 135.

[10]Emery, op. cit., p. 137.

[11]Emery, op. cit., pp. 208-209.

[12]Emery, op. cit., p. 209.

[13]Emery, ibid.

[14]Emery, ibid.

[15]These three periods were chosen to provide fairly equal divisions of the 1820 to 1860 years, rather than on the basis of historical events.

Lower South states included South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, Texas and Georgia. Upper South states were Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee and North Carolina. Border States were Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri. Middle States included New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New York and Washington D.C. The New England area was composed of Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island and Massachusetts. Western States were Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, California, and Oregon.

Daily newspapers in capital cities of these states were sampled whenever possible. When dailies were not available, weeklies were used. For each state, one newspaper was randomly chosen to be sampled for a single year. Twelve dates, one for

each month, were selected randomly and the corresponding newspaper issues were drawn. A systematic random sample of the content of each issue yielded a 150-word sample.

The newspapers used for each area of the country are:

Lower South--Charleston (S.C.) Daily Courier, Columbus (S.C.) Enquirer, Galveston News, Houston Telegraph, Mobile Commercial Register, Mobile Commercial Register and Patriot, Mobile Daily Commercial Register and Patriot, Mobile Daily Register, Mobile Register and Journal, New Orleans Bee, Pensacola Gazette, Vicksburg Daily Whig, Vicksburg Tri-Weekly Whig, and Vicksburg Weekly Whig.

Upper South--Arkansas Gazette, Arkansas State Gazette, Arkansas State Gazette and Democrat, Wilmington (N.C.) Daily Journal, Daily Richmond Enquirer, Greensborough Patriot, Memphis Daily Appeal, Greensborough (N.C.) Patriot and Flag, Raleigh Register and North Carolina Gazette, Richmond Enquirer, Greensborough Southern Telescope, and West Tennessee Whig.

Border States--Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser, Daily Missouri Democrat, Delaware Gazette, Delaware Gazette and American Watchman, Louisville Daily Courier, and Louisville Morning Courier and American Democrat.

Middle States--Daily National Intelligencer (Washington D.C.), Daily Pittsburgh Gazette, Newark Daily Advertiser, New York Daily Tribune, New York Evening Post, Pittsburgh Gazette, Pittsburgh Morning Post, and Philadelphia Public Ledger.

New England--Boston Daily Advertiser, Boston Daily Advertiser and Patriot, Daily Eastern Argus (Portland, Maine), Eastern Argus (Portland Maine), Hartford Daily Courant, Providence Daily Journal, Providence Daily Journal and General Advertiser, and Rhode Island Country Journal and Independent Inquirer.

West--Chicago Daily Journal, Chicago Democrat, Daily Ohio State Journal, Daily Sentinel and Gazette (Milwaukee, Wis.), Detroit Daily Free Press, Detroit Free Press, Hawk-Eye (Burlington, Iowa), Hawk-Eye and Iowa Patriot, Indianapolis Daily Journal, Milwaukee Daily Sentinel, Ohio State Journal and Columbus Gazette, Sacramento Daily Union, San Francisco Daily Herald, San Francisco Evening News, and Wisconsin Territorial Gazette and Burlington Advertiser.

[16]To simplify the coding process, each coder was first instructed to code each of the sample stories into one of three major categories: political, economic, or social.

Political stories were defined as those stories which were concerned primarily with any aspect of government other than economic, regardless of whether the government was local, state or national. In addition, a story was classified as political if it was concerned primarily with an important issue of the day which was not related to the economic operations of the country, or if it was concerned primarily with U.S. territories and the expansion of the United States.

Economic stories were defined as those stories concerned primarily with the financial aspects of government, including tariffs and taxes, or those stories concerned primarily with the economy of the country or science and technological advances.

Social stories were defined as those stories concerned primarily with people and their activities, including intellectual, cultural and educational activities.

The next step in the coding process was to decide into which of the political, economic or social sub-categories each story fell, according to these definitions:

Political

1. General--any story concerned primarily with a non-economic aspect of government at the local, state or national level.
2. Slavery and Abolition--any story concerned primarily with the question of slavery or the abolition of slavery, providing that the slavery question is the only primary issue.
3. Sectional Differences--any story concerned primarily with disagreements or divisions between the different sections of the country, except those stories concerned primarily with economic differences between regions of the country.
4. Territories and Expansion--any story concerned primarily with any aspect of U.S. territories or with the expansion of the U.S.

Economic

1. General--any story concerned primarily with the financial operations of the government or with the general economy of the country, including stories about manufacturing, commerce and agriculture.
2. Science and Technology--any story concerned primarily with scientific developments or technological improvements in the country, including stories about railroads, canals, and the telegraph.

Social

1. General Community--any story concerned primarily with people and their day-to-day activities, other than their intellectual and cultural activities.
2. Intellectual and Cultural--any story concerned primarily with the intellectual and cultural activities of people, such as travel reports, religious news, fiction and historical accounts.
3. Education--any story concerned primarily with public, private or university schooling, or with the general topic of education.

The third and final step in the coding process was to decide into which of several specific topics (under each sub-topic) each story fell. Since these specific subject topics were not employed in this study, however, they are not listed here.

[17]Harold D. Lasswell, "The Structure and Function of Communication in Society," in Wilbur Schramm and Donald F. Roberts, eds., The Process and Effects of Mass Communication, Rev. Ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971), pp. 84-99.

[18]See, for example, Maxwell E. McCombs and Donald L. Shaw, "The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media," Public Opinion Quarterly, 36:176-87 (Summer 1972); Maxwell McCombs and Donald L. Shaw, "A Progress Report on Agenda-Setting Research," Unpublished paper prepared for presentation to Association for Education in Journalism, San Diego, California, August 1974; and David H. Weaver et al., "A Path Analysis of Individual Agenda-Setting During the 1974 Indiana Senatorial Campaign," Unpublished paper prepared for presentation to Association for Education in Journalism, Ottawa, Canada, August 1975.

TABLE 1

Rankings of All Newspaper Stories, 1820 to 1835[a] (n=1201)

News Categories	Regions (A) Lower South (n=194)	(B) Upper South (n=228)	(C) Border States (n=204)	(D) Middle States (n=198)	(E) New England (n=182)	(F) West (n=195)
General Political	4	3	2	2	2	1
Slavery and Abolition	8.5	6.5	8.5	8	9	7.5
Sectional Differences	6	8	6.5	7	7.5	7.5
Territories and Expansion	7	5	6.5	6	6	9
General Economic	3	4	4	4.5	4	5
Science and Technology	5	6.5	5	4.5	5	4
General Community	2	2	3	3	3	3
Intellectual and Cultural	1	1	1	1	1	2
Education	8.5	9	8.5	9	7.5	6

Spearman's rhos:

AxB: .861	BxC: .890	CxE: .979	
AxC: .945	BxD: .912	CxF: .844	
AxD: .916	BxE: .882	DxE: .966	
AxE: .912	BxF: .668	DxF: .824	
AxF: .752	CxD: .987	ExF: .753	

[a]A ranking of "1" indicates that the greatest number of stories in a specific region's newspapers emphasized a particular news category, whereas a ranking of "9" indicates that the fewest number of stories emphasized a particular news category. See footnote 16 for definitions of the news categories.

TABLE 2

Rankings of All Newspaper Stories, 1836 to 1846 (n=844)

	Regions					
	(A) Lower South (n=150)	(B) Upper South (n=171)	(C) Border States (n=132)	(D) Middle States (n=128)	(E) New England (n=140)	(F) West (n=123)
News Categories						
General Political	1	1	3	2	1	1
Slavery and Abolition	7	6	6	8.5	6	8.5
Sectional Differences	9	9	9	8.5	9	8.5
Territories and Expansion	5	5	8	5	5	5
General Economic	4	4	4	4	4	2
Science and Technology	6	8	5	6	7.5	6
General Community	2	3	1	1	2.5	4
Intellectual and Cultural	3	2	2	3	2.5	3
Education	8	7	7	7	7.5	7

Spearman's rhos:

AxB: .933	AxE: .966	BxD: .862	CxD: .845	DxE: .894
AxC: .850	AxF: .904	BxE: .992	CxE: .815	DxF: .882
AxD: .954	BxC: .783	BxF: .862	CxF: .711	ExF: .869

TABLE 3

Rankings of All Newspaper Stories, 1847 to 1860 (n=1223)

	Regions					
	(A) Lower South (n=191)	(B) Upper South (n=238)	(C) Border States (n=172)	(D) Middle States (n=211)	(E) New England (n=229)	(F) West (n=182)
News Categories						
General Political	1	1	1.5	3	2	2
Slavery and Abolition	7.5	7	8	5	9	8.5
Sectional Differences	5	6	6.5	8	5	5
Territories and Expansion	7.5	5	5	7	7	6
General Economic	4	4	4	4	4	4
Science and Technology	6	8	6.5	6	6	7
General Community	2.5	3	1.5	1	1	1
Intellectual and Cultural	2.5	2	3	2	3	3
Education	9	9	9	9	8	8.5

Spearman's rhos:

AxB: .899	BxC: .941	CxE: .924	
AxC: .911	BxD: .800	CxF: .962	
AxD: .815	BxE: .833	DxE: .767	
AxE: .941	BxF: .904	DxF: .787	
AxF: .932	CxD: .840	ExF: .979	

TABLE 4

Rankings of Local Reporter or Editor Stories, 1820 to 1835 (n=269)

	Regions					
	(A) Lower South (n=48)	(B) Upper South (n=40)	(C) Border States (n=55)	(D) Middle States (n=43)	(E) New England (n=39)	(F) West (n=44)
News Categories						
General Political	4.5		1	1	1	1
Slavery and Abolition	7	8	6	7	7.5	8.5
Sectional Differences	7	5.5	7	8.5	7.5	6.5
Territories and Expansion	7	5.5	8.5	5.5	7.5	8.5
General Economic	2	2	4.5	4	5	5
Science and Technology	4.5	8	4.5	5.5	4	3
General Community	1	1	2.5	2	2	2
Intellectual and Cultural	3	4	2.5	3	3	6.5
Education	9	8	8.5	8.5	7.5	4

Spearman's rhos:

AxB: .809	BxC: .634	CxE: .962
AxC: .789	BxD: .773	CxF: .613
AxD: .803	BxE: .649	DxE: .917
AxE: .774	BxF: .386	DxF: .534
AxF: .429	CxD: .881	ExF: .750

TABLE 5

Rankings of Local Reporter or Editor Stories, 1836 to 1846 (n=274)

	Regions					
	(A) Lower South (n=55)	(B) Upper South (n=34)	(C) Border States (n=48)	(D) Middle States (n=52)	(E) New England (n=35)	(F) West (n=50)
News Categories						
General Political	1.5	3	4	2	1	1
Slavery and Abolition	7	7	5	7.5	8	8
Sectional Differences	9	8.5	8.5	7.5	8	8
Territories and Expansion	4.5	5.5	8.5	5	5	4
General Economic	3	2	3	3	3	2.5
Science and Technology	7	8.5	6.5	7.5	5	8
General Community	1.5	1	1	1	2	2.5
Intellectual and Cultural	4.5	4	2	4	5	5.5
Education	7	5.5	6.5	7.5	8	5.5

Spearman's rhos:

AxB: .918	BxC: .797	CxE: .609
AxC: .711	BxD: .926	CxF: .513
AxD: .964	BxE: .766	DxE: .910
AxE: .929	BxF: .892	DxF: .898
AxF: .930	CxD: .742	ExF: .850

TABLE 6

Rankings of Local Reporter or Editor Stories, 1847 to 1860 (n=483)

	Regions					
	(A) Lower South (n=73)	(B) Upper South (n=78)	(C) Border States (n=77)	(D) Middle States (n=85)	(E) New England (n=99)	(F) West (n=71)
News Categories						
General Political	1	1	2	2	2	2
Slavery and Abolition	5.5	7	7	7.5	9	8.5
Sectional Differences	4	6	7	7.5	7	5.5
Territories and Expansion	8.5	5	5	9	7	7
General Economic	5.5	3	3.5	4	4	3
Science and Technology	8.5	9	7	5	7	8.5
General Community	2	2	1	1	1	1
Intellectual and Cultural	3	4	3.5	3	3	4
Education	7	8	9	6	5	5.5

Spearman's rhos:

AxB: .773	BxC: .928	CxE: .788
AxC: .691	BxD: .644	CxF: .798
AxD: .713	BxE: .780	DxE: .902
AxE: .709	BxF: .874	DxF: .802
AxF: .788	CxD: .744	ExF: .940

TABLE 7

Rank-Order Correlations Over Time
for All News Stories

Regions	Time Periods 1820-1835	1836-1846	1847-1860
Lower South and New England	.912	.966	.941
Upper South and New England	.882	.992	.833
West and New England	.753	.869	.979
West and Lower South	.752	.904	.932
West and Upper South	.668	.862	.904

TABLE 8

Rank-Order Correlations Over Time
for Local Reporter/Editor News Stories

Regions	Time Periods 1820-1835	1836-1846	1847-1860
Lower South and New England	.774	.929	.709
Upper South and New England	.649	.766	.780
West and New England	.750	.850	.940
West and Lower South	.429	.930	.788
West and Upper South	.386	.892	.874